UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Religion as Experience; Science as Criticism

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

"Peace In Our Time, O, Lord!"

By BRENT DOW ALLINSON

New Books

Reviewed by FREDERICK STARR

VOLUME XCVI NUMBER 20

Chicago, February 1, 1926

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

UNITY

Subscription, $3.00 per Annum

(Established 1878)

A JOURNAL *of the* RELIGION *of* DEMOCRACY

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Vol. 1 March 1, 1878 No. 1

THE Pamphlet Mission FOR FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP & CHARACTER IN RELIGION.

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PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY AT 65 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.
Per Year, $1.50. Single Number, 10 Cents.

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"Entered as Second-Class Matter, January 12, 1899, at the Postoffice at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879"

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1926 NUMBER 20

THE GREAT WITHIN

"In the great moments of our lives we feel immeasurable depths and capacities within us. In some sudden emergency, or in a great crisis, or under some powerful emotion, we do things which astonish ourselves. The superficial portion of ourselves is swept away or merged in the great fundamental self, which comes rushing to the surface. We then feel that we are not fallen sinners, but potential heroes. Such moments are rare and quickly pass. But when they come we see in a flash the depths within us. And we feel that if we had only opportunity and scope and room and air, if only the conditions around us were more favorable, we have that within us which would make others also see that we are greater far than they ever supposed. All of us feel this at some moment of our lives. Our inherent capacities may only once or twice in a lifetime reveal themselves to us, but we know ever after that they are there. We are not worms: we are men. We are not submissive slaves: we are self-reliant free men. We are not mites in the universe: we are the greatest thing the universe has yet disclosed."

—Sir Francis Younghusband.

From *"Thoughts During Convalescence."*

It amuses us to note the enthusiasm of American diplomats, business men, travelers generally over the European dictators. A long string of American visitors in Italy, from Judge Gary down, has returned to this country during the past two or three years, chanting the praises of Mussolini. From Hungary have come pilgrims who think Admiral Horthy the greatest man they ever saw. Recently the late ambassador to Spain was given a dinner in New York, and his address was one long glowing tribute to Rivera. It is to laugh! And it is, perhaps, also no laughing matter at all, but something very serious. For this dictator-adoration keeps linking itself up in our mind, we must confess, with President Coolidge and the well-organized movement in Washington for a third term for the present occupant of the White House. We agree that it is a bit difficult to think of Calvin Coolidge as a dictator. He fits into the Mussolini-Horthy-Rivera class about as well as a clothes-pole in the skeleton of a steel-frame building. But a dictator, in spite of the implications of the title, need not be a strong man. He needs only to be a *single* man—one head in whom reposes the exercise of power. The strong men can be behind the scenes. The main thing is to have the figure-head, acting in his own or some one else's interest, who wields authority over an unlimited field for an indefinite period. Our political and business magnates see with longing eyes the goings-on in Italy and Spain. They ask why what is done in these countries cannot be done in this country. Force and violence would not work very well here, it is true, but bread and circuses may do just as well. It was thus the Roman dictators, strong and weak alike, maintained themselves. And here is Calvin Coolidge ready to hand for the *coup d' etat*. Why not elect him again, and still again? The people are satisfied, and the country is ours. A nice prospect, not so absurd as it sounds!

When people talk about political prisoners in Russia, we always begin to talk about political prisoners in the United States. Indeed the greatest shock that we can get out of even the worst reports from Russia is the shock confessed by Upton Sinclair when he discovered "that conditions of such prisoners in Russia are about the same as the condition of political prisoners in the state of California." When we have healed ourselves in this regard, then we may undertake to heal the other fellow—but not before! And that we have something to do is indicated not merely by past imprisonments, the victims of which still linger behind the bars, but by imprisonments still going on, as witness the following interesting dispatch from the Philippines:

JAIL FOR INSULTS TO WOOD

Member of Manila Council Convicted for Campaign Talk

MANILA, Jan. 8 (A. P.)—Antonio D. Paguia, a member of the Manila City Council, was convicted today in the Municipal Court and sentenced to two months' imprisonment on a charge of having used insolent language toward Gov. Gen. Leonard Wood in speeches in the political campaign last June. Paguia appealed.

The complaint asserted that Paguia, speaking in the Tagalog dialect, had described Wood as "a big tree without a shadow." He also described Wood as a despoiler of Filipino liberties, an oppressor and autocrat.

What Mr. Paguia said is very largely true. General Wood has been a notorious "autocrat" all his life; his record since becoming Governor-General of the Philippines has been consistently that of a "despoiler of Filipino liberties." As for the phrase, "a big tree without a shadow," it seems to us to be peculiarly picturesque and pertinent as the description of a man who has never at any time had any substance commensurate with his public reputation. But the essential truth of the attack, which is of course the reason why it got under the great general's skin, has nothing to do with the iniquity of what actually happened. Had all Mr. Paguia's words been nothing but idle slanders, he still should not have been arrested and punished on soil covered by the American flag, and he would not be now in jail were there an ounce of Americanism left in our government and citizenry generally today. Our one consolation is that episodes of this kind can only stir afresh the hostility to America in the Philippines and thus hasten the

day of liberty. Meanwhile, we congratulate and salute Antonio D. Paguia. May he speak again, and many others with him!

The coal industry, both in England and America, is so obviously sick that there can be little doubt that the remedy of public ownership must soon be resorted to if the patient is to survive. In England, where the operatives are well organized and ably led, public ownership has already been begun in the form of the government subsidy granted by the Baldwin Cabinet last fall. In America, the miners are badly organized, are led by a thug whose brains are in his fists, and have no such political influence as that embodied in the British Labor Party, so private ownership goes on with periodical strikes, ever higher prices, and demoralization generally. But here, as over there, the mines must sooner or later be taken over by the public and run not for profit but for service. Such a situation casts fresh light upon the issue of public ownership as we face it in this part of the world. Public ownership comes to the fore, as a matter of genuine interest and importance, only when an industry has gone all to pieces and is at the point of extinction. If an industry is powerful and prosperous, like the General Electric, for example, it is taken for granted that it must remain in private hands for purposes of public exploitation. When for any reason, however, profits begin to diminish and difficulties to increase, when capital gets so beset that it can no longer make large returns to investors, then, when everything else has become impossible, public ownership is resorted to. The business is turned over to the government, as the railroads were during the War, for the government to stand the loss. Then, because the government finds it difficult to do what private ownership found it absolutely impossible to do, we appeal to high heaven to bear witness to the failure of public ownership. Even under these conditions, as a matter of fact, government ownership isn't so bad, as see the parcel post or public express business. Give it any kind of a fair show, and it will be as efficient as it is just.

The political situation in New York City would be tragic if it were not so inexpressibly ludicrous. For the first time since the good days of Mayor Van Wyck, Tammany Hall is in complete control of City Hall. The Mayor, Mr. Walker, is an amiable, well-intentioned, polite little fellow, who has a sincere ambition, we have no doubt, to be a good executive; but he is a perfect product of the "machine" and has not a glimpse of merit beyond playing the game of the "machine" for all that it is worth. There is something almost pathetic about the frank and open way in which Mayor Walker identifies good government with doing the will of Tammany. Certainly there is no concealment of what is going on. At the inauguration on New Year's Day, all the Tammany chieftains—the precinct captains, ward-heelers, bosses and henchmen, of high and low degree—were out in the gorgeous splendor of tall hats and frock coats, making an assemblage of political free-bootery such as New York has not seen in this generation. All appointments to office, with the exception of a few of the higher commissionerships, have been placed in the hands of Judge Olvaney, who has no more to do officially with the administration than the president of the Union League Club or the Grand Master of the Masons, but he is the head of Tammany Hall! The tip has been given to all saloons, brothels, dance-halls, "wet" restaurants, etc., to keep quiet for three months, *then*—well, what do you suppose? The simple fact of the matter is that New York is in the hands of the corruptest ring of politicians that America has ever known, and everything and anything is going to "go" if it pays adequate tribute to those higher up. The situation, of course, will be entirely respectable outwardly; there will be none of the bold flaunting of indecency which was the rule in the days of Tweed and Croker. But the same foul reality will be present, make no mistake about that! And meanwhile, nobody cares. The reform spirit in New York is deader than the bones of the Piltdown skull. "A Tammany administration is good for business," people say—so, a Tammany administration it is!

Here at last is something new in the world! In Shenandoah, Iowa, a mid-western city, Mr. C. J. Latta, the owner of a moving picture theater, discovered that the picture he had received to show at his regular performance was so utterly poor that he decided it was time he played fair with his patrons. Instead of "cracking up" the picture in his advertisements, he in turn advertised that the picture was "one of the weakest he had seen," and that he did "not want to obtain money under false pretenses." After the show a close check disclosed that only one-fourth of his usual patrons had attended the show. Instead of whining about his loss, he expressed the satisfaction of having won out on the basis of dealing honestly with the public. He said he "felt sure that the next time he praises a picture in his advertisements the public would believe him, and thus compensate him for his former loss." We wonder what effect such honesty in advertising would have if applied generally. Suppose a clothing merchant should advertise:

> Five hundred men's suits received. The entire lot is disappointing. Most of them are of inferior quality. The list price is $33.00 per suit; but they are worth only $20.00.

Again, suppose a real estate dealer should advertise in this wise:

> A seven room house for sale. Owner wants $12,000. The roof is in bad repair; the furnace is burnt out; and the basement is flooded after storms. Said property is not worth over $9,500.

Again, suppose a butcher should advertise in this manner:

> Five hundred pounds of beef received from Swift and Co. The fixed price is 35 cents per pound. Meat is tough and dry; is not worth more than 20 cents per pound.

We confess our imagination will not stretch this far! It's too great a strain! But if such were the case, a new standard by which commodities are exchanged would soon grow up. And the buying public would before long patronize the honest merchant. Losses there might be at first; but we venture to say that honesty would be the best policy in the end.

Albert Parker Fitch spoke true if blunt words when he said to the young students gathered at the recent conference at Evanston, Illinois:

> You are lovable but irresponsible and superficial, and despite all your radical statements inherently conservative. . . . You have impressions of ideas, but not ideas. A little less intellectual conscience and a little more moral conscience wouldn't hurt.

This judgment coincides precisely with our own. Our young people, as we see them, are lovable in the extreme, but they have no sense of responsibility, and in spite of a pathetic desire to be radical, they are "inherently conservative." The fact that they are questioning themselves and the world, however, as no generation of youth has ever questioned before, is wholly encouraging, and now and again these young people *do* strike out in a way to encourage and uplift the heart. This Evanston Conference, for example, attacked denominationalism with a spirit almost ferocious. Neither in the churches at home nor in the missions abroad did they see any reason for the recognition of sectarian lines. They proposed themselves to lead the way to religious unity by federating into a single organization all the young people's societies in the Protestant churches. They listened with rapture to the stories of community churches, and adopted the platform which is central to the whole community church movement in this country—namely, that membership in Christian churches should be wholly independent of individual doctrinal belief. This means, of course, that the church must be organized on the basis not of theology but of life, have as its object not the creed but the community. The community church, as a movement in American religious life, has had its ups and downs in recent years, but the future belongs to it more definitely today than ever. The Evanston young people proved this beyond all question of doubt or denial.

Religion as Experience; Science as Criticism

II.

We have seen that religion is an experience which needs no argument to prove its reality, any more than the experience of beauty or of love needs an argument to prove its reality.

One man may enter the trials of Gethsemane embittered and cynical, with a materialistic philosophy of life, and endure agonies of suffering without one hint of a religious experience. Another may stand on the banks of the Wye and see only so much earth and water, with absolutely no stirring of the imagination and with no integration into the totality of the scene. There may be no flash of swift insight which enables him to see deeper into the meaning of things. A man may enter Chartres Cathedral and stand amid its sublimities with no vision of "the white radiance of eternity" which flames in the mind of a Lowell. It is possible to live without religion; it is possible to be a highly ethical person without religion; it is reasonable to challenge its value, both to the individual and to society; but it is not possible to rationally doubt or deny the reality of the fact that man throughout the ages has lived a religious life and, above all, the scientific man, who is trained in the accurate observance of facts, would be the last to deny one of the most universal facts of human history.

But man is so constituted that he is unwilling merely to live; he must have an explanation of life. He is unwilling to accept things for what they are, because he has an insatiable desire to reduce facts to meaning. This being the case, no thinking man is willing to accept the existence of a religious experience without seeking to know what it means in terms of relation to the rest of life, and in terms of value. The mind begins to integrate religion with all other interests and therefore it must be understood, and it must be assigned a place in the hierarchy of activities. Human beings, for better or for worse, insist upon reflecting on the significance of their own behavior.

Here we find the source of most of the difficulty between science and religion. It is possible, as was suggested at the beginning, to deny the validity of either of these great forms of human experience, but that is not rational behavior. It is possible to compromise in the sense of declaring a truce in hostilities, but this solution is not psychologically sound, because it does not face the whole situation frankly, and it fails to integrate the two into one effective living whole.

As in the analogous case of beauty or of love, every thinking person at some time will ask, "What makes this object more beautiful than another?" "Why do I love one person and not another?" "What happens in me when I experience beauty and love? How can I relate these experiences to the rest of life, and what value shall I assign to them?" So with the fact of religion. Granting that it exists, how can we explain it, what meaning has it for life, how does it relate to other activities and what value has it?

In other words, most people are not content to merely accept life, they want to understand it, and they

want to reflect upon its meaning. It is the scientist to whom we turn when we seek an explanation of phenomena which will make the complex maze of life intelligible. Religion, art, love make life rich and deep. Science does not substitute itself for them. Science makes them intelligible and thus makes it possible for men to derive greater joys and more lasting benefits from them.

If the foregoing point of view is true, then science has a twofold task with relation to religion. First, to accept it as science accepts all other facts. Secondly, to study it as science studies any other fact, objectively and dispassionately. We refuse to put the whole question on the horns of a dilemma by stating it as "Science *or* Religion." We are even unwilling to leave it in the condition of mutual toleration as "Science *and* Religion." We must take the next step in building an harmonius synthesis by producing a "Science *of* Religion." And such a science would fall mainly under three heads: Psychology, Comparative Religions and Sociology. It is the function of such science to study religion as an experience occurring within the individual. It would trace its various forms through history, and evaluate it as one of the forces at work in society. When it finally becomes possible to have a science of religion, we shall understand not only why people have religious experiences, but also—which is very important in this connection—we shall know why people use the symbols which have been employed in the history of the different ethnic and sectarian religions, and why the various dogmas have been evolved, and, above all, why particular ideas are insisted upon as explanations and necessary concomitants of the experience.

The task of these three phases of the science of religion will be to probe to the utmost depths every aspect of the religious life with the final result that we shall have more truth which in turn will guide us into a richer and truer religious life.

First, the task of psychology will be to explain the nature of the phenomena which occur in the individual when he manifests the distinctly religious behavior. Psychology may ask, How did Jesus, Buddha, Amiel or Wordsworth feel, what did they think, what was the situation which produced their behavior, and did they give a true explanation of their experience? Psychology will bore into any "holy of holies" which will throw light on the subject. No matter how unpopular his investigation, no matter how forbidden his clue, the psychologist will trace the relations between glandular secretion and conversion, he will measure nerve tension in relation to exaltation, he will study the correlation between posture and prayer. He will continue to seek for a "soul" and he will continue to seek for the mechanism. He will dare to think anything which will lead us into more truth.

In particular cases such as those above mentioned the scientist wants to probe into the mental habits of the religious person, and find out whether he was of excitable temperament or not, what amount of physical exercise he had had just preceding his experience, the length of time he had been in a state of extreme concentration, the condition of fatigue, fear, hope, depression, introversion or extraversion. He wants to know every factor which can possibly enter into the situation, and he will overlook nothing as insignificant. The Freudian will push his hypothesis of religion as a compensating dream world and as an escape from the hard realities of life. The mechanist will continue to try to reduce behavior to set off physiological reactions. The animist will proceed with his assumptions about the "mind" and the "soul." From all these angles we will deduce some new and illuminating facts, which will help us in a progressive explanation of religion.

But the important fact remains that religion, no matter how completely analyzed, remains a fact of human experience. When psychology has described the phenomenon of beauty in terms of "wish fulfillment," gland secretion, or physiological reactions, there still remains

> Beauty, old yet ever new
> Eternal voice and inward word.

And so that one glorious night of Amiel when he was lifted into the inspired mood of exaltation will remain forever a valid experience of a sensitive man. All that psychology can ever do is to analyze Amiel's experience and explain it. It may be found that Amiel's description of what happened is not accurate, that he objectified one of his subjective moods when he said

> And on all sides stretched mysteries, marvels and prodigies, without limit, without number and without end. I felt the unfathomable thought of which the universe is the symbol live and burn within me; I touched, proved, embraced my nothingness and my immensity.

It may be proved in time that the objective assumptions which are so common in religious experience are very largely the result of the tendencies of human beings to deify their own "states of consciousness." We *may* learn that God is a deification of our values and hopes and need. The writer does not say that these things will have to be, or that he believes that they will be. But let us, by all means, face the possibility, and be willing to accept the inevitable if it really becomes inevitable. If religion is in time reduced to a "psychological state," then it will be. And when that is proved to be so, if it ever is, we want to know it. But whatever the psychology of religion may have in store for us we can still assert that all science has done is to help us to understand the nature of religion. Religion as attitude, experience and value still remains. When physiology and psychology revealed the material side of the love experience, human beings did not cease loving. It is simply possible to love more wisely today because we understand better than ever before what love means. Poetic explanations must be abandoned. The experience remains.

And the same analysis may be made of the other sciences mentioned. Comparative Religion, by assembling a vast mass of facts from the rich stores of ethnic and ecclesiastical history, will make progress toward an understanding of the phenomena of prayer, worship, theology, creed, symbol and ceremony. A study of man's search for the absolute in its different aspects through the centuries will throw light on the working of man's mind, and will enable us to realize better than ever before that religion contains a universal and valid element which needs to be enfranchised from false theologies and cosmogonies. It will be possible to separate the permanent from the transient, the truth from the many barnacles which have become attached to it. We will be able to see into the very core of the religious life when we are able to view the subject with the perspective and sweep of universal history. And again we shall find that science does not seek to supplant the fact of religious experience which underlies the uncouth explanations, but rather tries to give a truer explanation of the fact.

Comparative religion may at first shock the sectarian devotee when he finds that ideas which he holds to be the special revelation of his particular saint or prophet are the common possession of scores of religious leaders in other lands and other times. He may be tempted at first to deny the beauty and grandeur of all religion because he finds that his is not the only religion which possesses beauty and grandeur. His disillusion may lead to dispossession. But that will be only temporary, for soon he will see that he has gained the universal when he lost the provincial, and he has become a larger, better man.

The science of Comparative Religion will enable us to see with Prof. Alfred Whitehead that

> "Religion has emerged into human experience mixed with the crudest fancies of barbaric imagination. Gradually, slowly, steadily the vision recurs in history under nobler form and with clearer expression. It is the one element in human experience which persistently shows an upward trend. It fades and then recurs. But when it renews its force, it recurs with an added richness and purity of content. The fact of the religious vision, and its history of persistent expansion, is our one ground for optimism. Apart from it, human life is a flash of occasional enjoyments lighting up a mass of pain and misery, a bagatelle of transient experience."

And again with the science of sociology, we seek a body of facts which will enable us to comprehend the religious experience in relation to society. We study religion as a product of culture—it is one of the many forces such as art, invention, statecraft, and education whose pattern is moulded by the total life of a people. Sociology also studies religion as one of the influences making culture, and enriching civilization. The sociologists agree that religion is one of the great facts of the social life, and as such tries to analyze it and assign to it value.

The sociologist will ask what effect has Francis of Assisi had upon his fellow men because of his religious experience? Were people more sensitive to social maladjustments because of his religious connection? The sociologist may ask of Luther, or Calvin, or Wesley how did their behavior affect prejudice, freedom, and progress. The social scientist collects data regarding religion as one of the factors promoting or retarding "consciousness of kind," and he observes its effect upon the socialization of the individual or upon the group. He discovers the extent to which religion narrows or expands a person's sympathies, and he measures the effect of the religious person upon such phenomena as social control and institutions.

And as a result, the sociologist sees that social science is no substitute for religion, but rather that social science has here one of its greatest allies, one of the world's most potent "society building" forces, if the true nature of religion can be understood, and the narrow sectarian antagonisms swept away by a larger vision. It is the sociologist who will enable us to utilize the vast latent powers of religious groups, because he will clearly explain the social nature of religion, and reveal its true social task.

Very little need be said in this connection about such sciences as geology, astronomy and biology about which such storms have raged, for the connection between them is only of the remotest character, with the possible exception of biology. For as has been previously indicated, the only possible conflict here is a conflict between the cruder pseudo-scientific ideas which became associated in olden time with religion as an explanation, and the newer, sounder ideas which are held today by most scientists. We are simply dealing with the widely understood fact that science and religion are both dynamic and that they evolve at different rates at different times. The scientific doctrines of the day of Moses or Buddha which were used by religious men as explanations of their experiences, have become embedded in Scriptures like a fossil trylobite in hardened lava, and science does not recognize its own kith and kin. Professor Whitehead again expresses the situation when he says:

> No man of science could subscribe without qualification to Galileo's beliefs, or to Newton's beliefs, or to all his own scientific beliefs of ten years ago.

The only cause for conflict is the inability of men to see the issue clearly, and their unwillingness to divide the various aspects of this complex into their constituent parts. The age of the earth and the geological explanation of the way in which it has evolved surely stand far apart from worship, reverence, faith and values. The prevailing theory of astronomy may provide a setting for the ideas with which a man may express his religion, but it is clear that the stars are figuratively as well as literally millions of miles away from the central fact of religious experience. And so with the ideas which have been borrowed from other sciences as settings, explanations, or associations. Their connection with the vital, permanent and universal ele-

ments of religion is remote in the extreme.

The deeper one delves into this problem the clearer it seems that a science *of* religion, while not providing a substitute for the religious life itself, will help to clarify this situation immensely, and will enable men to build a life in which religion and all the sciences may be united into one co-operating, mutually enriching whole.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

A newspaper columnist thinks it a great joke that he found "The Genesis and Birth of the Federal Constitution" among the religious books in a book-store. But why not? The Constitution is an infallible document, duly inspired of God, in the eyes of most Americans, and thus is our American Bible. We repeat, why not?

The National Security League has forced the resignation from its directorate of Professor William Bradley Otis, of the College of the City of New York, because he sustained the students of the College in their right to protest against compulsory military training. This is a good sample of the National Security League's idea of Americanism.

The Cologne Cathedral is beginning to tumble down; its stones, say the reports, are not resisting the ravages of time. Similar reports have long been coming from London about St. Paul's, whose foundations are giving way. We wonder that those expert in reading the signs of the times do not see in these events the true symbolization of what is happening to the religion these churches serve.

Mt. Vesuvius is erupting in Italy, and Calvin Coolidge is "showing impatience" in Washington. Such infrequent and enormous seismic disturbances surely portend the coming of dire events. The end of the world may be at hand, after all!

Roy Chapman Andrews, famous as the discoverer of dinosaur eggs in Mongolia, tells the following to a reporter of the New York *Times:*

> We were surprised also to find a Mongolian woman who had discovered the dinosaur eggs and was putting them to the same use that the Stone Age peoples had. She made bits of jewelry with them.
>
> I offered her a cake of soap, if she would deliver an intact fossil egg. *This seemed a bargain for us, since the last price paid for a dinosaur egg was $5,000, but she was satisfied. She produced the fragments of several dinosaur eggs. We reached a settlement by paying her half a cake of soap for the fragments.*

This may seem to be a trifling episode, but is it? On the contrary, is not this bargain struck with the Mongolian woman a picture in miniature of all the relations of the West with the East, of the civilized man with the uncivilized? No morals, no ethical standards, no essential justice, just plain "business." *Caveat emptor!*

The mystery of the World Court continues. James G. McDonald, in the January *Survey Graphic* (page 431), calls it "a small hesitating, first step." This reminds us of Senator's Walsh's confession in the Senate that it is "the feeblest possible step toward peace." Never in all our life have we encountered an alleged good thing for which its sponsors were so profoundly apologetic.

J. H. H.

SONG TO MAN

Out of the earth God made you: out of the dust and the dew:
Out of the merging of all life: of his mated self made you;

Out of a whirling planet: out of heat and fire:
Out of his mind he made you of a great and grand desire;

Out of the strength of the mountains: of the turbulent depth of the sea,
Of tender moss and flowers: of lake and leafy tree;

Out of rhyming and rushing rivers: of the vastness of desert and plain,
Of illusive sunshine and shadow: of whimsical wind and rain;

Out of the nebulous dawning: of the whiteness and glory of noon:
Of the colorful hush of evening: of mysterious midnight and moon;

Out of his wit and laughter: out of his hate and lust:
Out of his joy and sorrow; of his faith and infinite trust;

Out of his perfect pleasure: out of chaos and peace:
Out of his trials and triumphs, and love that will never cease;

Out of his endless creations: out of untiring thought:
Out of his dreams he made you, of pain and passion he wrought;
Out of his vision and blindness: out of his soul, his soul.
Out of the ages foregathered into an emerging whole:

ROSALIE GOODYEAR.

I AM NOT MINE OWN

I am not mine own.
With the blood of the world's martyrs
Am I bought—
I am not mine own.

I am not mine own.
At the price of earth's worn toilers
Am I bought—
At the price of all who strived,
At the price of all who sacrificed,
With the price of bitter failure—
I am not mine own.

With the blood of heroes
Am I bought—
With the throes of stinging pain
And loneliness of outcasts—
With the glory gift of pioneers
Am I bought!

And if I sing in broken strain
The elemental wild refrain
Of human agony and human hearts aspiring,
What boots it thee
Since I am not mine own but those
Whose death and broken life
Gave life to me?
If song of mine mount high
I claim no victory
Except for all earth's countless hordes
Who purchased life for me.

Wayfarer's Anthology. —*Mabel F. Blakeslee.*

"Peace In Our Time, O, Lord!"

The moan of doves had been heard, verily, for many months, from one end of Europe to the other, but only in the closing hours of the Locarno conference could their shining wings be descried circling grandly over the lordly slopes of the autumn-tarnished Alps to rest upon the cold and placid azure of Lake Maggiore. Even when, after waiting an hour in the clear twilight of October, we saw Mr. Austen Chamberlain, accompanied by his absurd, inevitable monocle and his wife, descending the staircase of the classic Palace of Justice, wearing a glassy smile and carrying the signed documents in the same hand with his cane—even then were we puzzled and numbly incredulous, believing that the cheers and the applause were but outbursts of ardent popular aspiration long frustrated and betrayed, or little better than the clacque of the catcalls for Mr. Mussolini who had emerged five minutes previously from the same marble portal surrounded by his callow braves. Indeed, if we must confess it, in our secret self we feared that this dramatic descent of the elder statesman from the balcony of official peace more resembled that illustrious descent of the nude in an exploding shrapnel factory wearing an exhausted smile and a splintered fan, inflicted by a cubist on a protesting world a few years ago, than it did a descent of the holy pentecost of peace upon the apostles "breathless with adoration."

Certainly they did not look like archangels as they stepped into their illuminated limousines and rode away between the frozen palm-trees to the glittering *piazza* of many-colored Locarno. "By their fruits shall ye judge them." "Patience, and shuffl the cards!" said we to ourself, quoting scripture and waiting for revelation. Then we realized that it was the incongruous presence of "Muscles" (as Signor Mussolini is known to the trade) and the rakish monocle of Austen Chamberlain, which combines with his bowler to make him look like a pinchbeck bookmaker at the Derby or a very devil of a Wall Street broker, that made us so incredulous of the arrival of the New Dispensation. Must Evangel always look like the Devil on his arrival lest in our blindness we refuse to believe him or take him seriously?

However this may be, it behooves us all to take very seriously and study very carefully the intricate political labors of Locarno for they are at once the evidence and the result of the most astonishing conversion of European politics and politicians from the bloody worship of Baal and of the jealous Titans of nationalism and separatism since the Fourteen Points. What Versailles and all the succeeding international conferences of the powers of this earth failed ignominiously to do, in the shock of more or less pitiless publicity, Locarno has accomplished, in the studied silence of pitiless censorship,—a peace of consent reciprocally guaranteed. The seven interlocking treaties and agreements elaborated and signed by the seven governments that met in secret in sunny Locarno, like the twelve legendary labors of Hercules will, if their purpose be understood and faithfully executed through the coming years, slay the Lernian—and perhaps the Leninian!—hydras with the strong grip of reviving commercial and economic activity, and cleanse the Augean stables of international politics with rivers running fresh with the waters of confidence and co-operation.

That is a large claim, yet I believe it not excessive. What, then, was really done at Locarno, and why did they do it? A book might easily be written upon either question, for the threads that were spun at Locarno lead to almost every agitated corner of Europe, and the diplomatic wool that was brought there was gathered from long-suffering sheep in many a valley resounding with the echo of historic antagonism and conflict. It is the opinion of this observer that the sincere determination of successive German governments to develop a wise and westward-looking strategy of peace, and economic collaboration with the solvent commercial powers, rather than to be drawn into the desperate nets of Moscow, and *the determination of British diplomacy to prevent the economic or political consolidation of the Continent under French or German or even Russian leadership,* acting in the light of the increasing fiscal and military embarrassments of France, *are the greatest factors in the creation of the conference of Locarno* and of the western European *volte-face* towards Germany. There are, of course, numerous minor factors, for the causes of great historic events are always complicated. The anxiety occasioned by the rumors of Mr. Mussolini's dangerous flirtation with Moscow, of Mr. Chicherin's fevered *tete a tetes* in Warsaw and Berlin, following upon the disturbances in China, in Syria, in Morocco, and the failure of Mr. Caillaux at Washington, have all contributed to hasten and precipitate the diplomatic revolution of Locarno and the interlocking guarantees which were there consummated.

What, exactly, is the Mutual Security Pact? By it the western frontiers of Germany, and the inviolability of the demilitarized zone, as established by the treaty of Versailles, was internationally guaranteed. In order to redress the balance of power of western Europe, to bring the weight of Germany into the League of Nations on the side of Great Britain, and to block the jingoism of France ever reaching towards the lower Rhine, British conservative diplomacy determined to secure the territorial status quo and to destroy the protocol of Geneva; it has done both very cleverly by guaranteeing, independently of all other commitments, and in emergencies, even of the League, the maintenance of the existing frontiers on the Rhine. This is the triumph of British diplomacy at Locarno, and this is the essence of the Mutual Security Pact. To the French it gives the security which Poincaré sought in vain to exact of Messrs. Wilson and Lloyd George in 1919. In thus allaying French fears it opens the door to a reduction of French military expenditures, greatly desired by large sections of French opinion, and to French acceptance of equal German collaboration in the League. To Germany it gives solid security against renewed French invasion of the Rhinelands, whether under the pretended authority of the treaty of Versailles or otherwise. The two countries agree to submit all future disputes, with no exceptions, to arbitration, judicial determination or to the processes of international inquiry and adjustment established by the League Covenant, within which all of the interlocking accords of Locarno are framed. Great Britain and Italy, in a special paragraph of the Treaty of Mutual Security,—the foremost of the Locarno treaties—explicitly pledge their military assistance to either France or Germany in the event of "flagrant attack" or "unprovoked act

of aggression" by the other,—the questions of fact, in any such case, to be determined ultimately not by the Court, but *by the Council of the League*, and the signatories agreeing to "act in accordance with the recommendations of the Council provided that they are concurred in by all the members other than the representatives of the parties which have engaged in hostilities" (Article IV, paragraph 111).

This means that, for the first time, those clauses of the treaty of Versailles which directly affect the relations of France and Germany, and Belgium and Germany, are rendered subject to presumably impartial judicial interpretation, upon the demand of Germany—a fact of the first importance, and one which has not been true even of the minority treaties that were signed at Versailles and that were supposed to protect the rights of ethnic or religious minorities in the succession states. It has not been possible, heretofore, for the oppressed minorities,—especially the German and Hungarian minorities in Poland and Czecho-Slovakia,—to hail their oppressors into any court, although every impartial observer who has visited these regions, or studied the matter, knows that the terms of the fair-sounding minority treaties have been, and still are, flagrantly violated, and that these minorities have been subjected to cruel and outrageous treatment. This is true also of the southern Tyrol, now under the brutal boot of Italy, for the inhabitants of which no minority treaty was ever written, Italy being, as it was blandly thought in 1919, one of the "civilized Allies." The entrance of Germany into the League insures a happier fate for all these minorities, for it is inconceivable that the German representatives in the Assembly and Council will long refrain from forcing the consideration and amelioration of their lot. Further than this, the four arbitration treaties, signed at Locarno by Germany, with Belgium, France, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, respectively, specifically guarantee the peaceful arbitration or adjudication of all disputed questions (with the exception, in the eastern treaties, of territorial questions), establish new agencies of conciliation and adjustment, and pledge the signatories explicitly not to resort to war.

There is another aspect of the labors of Locarno which is of especial importance to Germany. It concerns the tangled "eastern question" and the prior Franco-Polish and Franco-Czech military alliances concerning which the greatest apprehension prevailed. Indeed, this was the *piece de résistance* throughout the negotiations on Lake Maggiore, and it was resolved, in the final sessions, by an ingenious formula excogitated in secret by the jurists. The exact nature of this solution is not yet entirely clear. Although M. Skrzynski, the Polish foreign minister, interviewed on leaving Locarno, stated to the Polish and Czech press that the alliances with France had been "reaffirmed," and similar statements have appeared in the intransigent French press, two things emerge clearly from the shining mists of Locarno,—firstly, that M. Briand admitted that these two "defensive" alliances would have to be rewritten in order to bring them within the framework of peace created at Locarno and to render them compatible with the spirit and system of the League-Covenant and subject to the purvue of its council; and that this was done. Secondly, that the German representatives, who were not stupid men, left Locarno maintaining a mysterious and smiling silence on this phase of the matter, but evidently satisfied that the Franco-Polish and Franco-Czech military alliances had in effect been abrogated and supplanted by the new European system envisaged by Locarno and the League, and that their menace had been destroyed. It is clear also, in spite of misleading statements in the continental press, that the British guarantee of the inviolability of the western frontier of Germany does not in any way include the eastern frontiers or confirm the *status quo* of the Polish corridor, for instance. On the contrary, it will appear, I believe, that Britain will support, in the League or elsewhere, peaceful German efforts to obtain, by European assent, rectification of the inconveniences or wrongs perpetrated in East Prussia by the dictators of Versailles and that the new formula of the Franco-Polish and Franco-Czech alliances confers upon France a similar rôle in the east to that which Britain assumes in the west, i.e., protector of each side, and not merely of one, against possible violation of peaceful pledges and attack by the other. If this be so, the French have transformed their alliances from provocative pacts of war to reciprocal pledges of peace.

Here then is the great promise of Locarno. Its work, as Mr. Chamberlain persuasively proclaimed, was not aimed against anybody. It was the real liquidation of the political dregs of the World War. Instead of being a bevy of generals and diplomats plotting plunder, it was a galaxy of ordinary men and statesmen, made wise by the recognition of universal disaster and the need of solidarity, plotting peace—and doing it in secret in order to outwit the blind and bigotted nationalist factions in each country who, like cobras, are still hissing although pinned to the earth by economic facts. The accords of Locarno have put an end to the "unilateral aberration" that has turned civilization into a cemetery, and that has used all the agencies of power, foreign offices, Ambassadors' Council, Reparations Commission and even the League of Nations to maintain and enforce the *status quo* set up by the treasonable treaties of Versailles. This aberration at last is buried, at least in Europe, and over its bier has been woven a complex fabric of reciprocal guarantees freely given and taken, pledging the nations to compulsory arbitration and abstention from violence and aggression more explicit and complete than any treaties since the Congress of Vienna of 1815, with which Versailles may be compared but Locarno must be contrasted.

It is impossible to conclude any discussion of this important historic event without praising in the highest terms the rôle and record of the Germans. In initiating and accepting the labors of Locarno the German Republic and its representatives have conferred a priceless boon on France and on the world, of which the world should be prompt to express its recognition. By their persistent program of peace, their patience and their largeness of mind, the Germans have proved their capacity for statesmanship and greatness. They have laid the bloodiest spectre of western Europe in its unhallowed grave—the spectre of Alsace-Lorraine which forthwith passes from the European stage to share oblivion with Burgundy and Brabant. They have razed the long and bitter siege of western Europe and, by establishing security as completely as politics or politicians can do it, they have dammed the floods of hate and bridged the chasms of fear. Like Nietzsche's "good Europeans" they are standing at the open portal pointing to a highway of life and hope, to a way that can lead and will lead, if popular knowledge and faith support them, to complete disarmament and loyal collabora-

tion, to economic emancipation and a federated continent of which Geneva, through the transformation and completion of the League, may well become the capital.

Here is an achievement, intricate and delicate, which a long-suffering world is justified in hailing with loud thanksgiving. Here is a political testament for the times which embodies principles for the eternities. Here is a torch by which to light the road to peace, in which we can and should believe. Here, when Russia and Turkey and the victims of western imperialism have been brought within the circle of its healing light, when a method of constructive and carefully limited collaboration with the new League has been evolved by the United States, is renewed assurance that man *is* master of his fate and that by himself *he can achieve peace in his own time.*

BRENT DOW ALLINSON.

Chicago, Illinois.

"Democracy as She Is Mocked"

In the presence of the military, neither American democracy nor academic freedom can long endure. Not only the civilians among our country's founders, but even Washington the general profoundly distrusted the influence of the military in a democracy. They tried to curb and control it. A civilian was made commander-in-chief; civilians were to administer the two departments of the armed forces; a civilian congress was to control budgets and policies and remained in control *until the recent Defense Act surrendered sweeping powers to the Military Staff.*

And it is this military clique, once officially headed by General Pershing, which is seeking to extend military influence into every walk of American life. At this moment they are trying to add many naval training units to colleges and to place a reserve officer in every town and village.

As an ex-soldier, who was also trained in a university R. O. T. C., I am convinced that the blight of military intrusion in the college is so serious as to challenge the opposition of every student with an open mind and a stout heart. Briefly it is a menace (1) to the college, (2) to the man enrolled, and (3) to the nation.

Prefatory to evidence on these three counts in the indictment against the R. O. T. C., let me clear up the question of the military mind. In the college R. O. T. C. and in the army I saw officers of two radically different types: the civilian and the military or professional. Your military type is Prussianized. I have seen them at the University of Iowa, at Jefferson Barracks, Camp Colt, Camp Summerall, Camp Dix, in England, in France, and back in America again. The professional soldier or militarist has a materialistic philosophy of life and an ethics of expediency based upon a surrendered conscience. The American militarist is a boon companion to his German, French, English or Japanese brother. Their view of life and their mental reactions are astonishingly similar.

Before discussing the great danger of military influence to democracy and academic freedom, let me illustrate the difference between civilian and military mentality.

Captain Paxton Hibben, who is in charge of one section of the relief work in Russia, has the civilian mind and believes it his duty as an army officer as it is "the duty of a citizen to see his country as it is without illusion, and to help meet and solve its problems." The American militarists are court-martialing him. They refuse to bring specific charges. It is enough that an army officer should dare to *think!* The Christian Century, "which exposed the refusal of the military to grant chaplain's commissions to preachers who also reserve the right to think," issue of October 30th, says:

"We believe Captain Hibben cannot possibly make a convincing defense. No man who values freedom of opinion and speech has any business in an army officer's uniform *just as no Christian minister whose first allegiance is to Jesus Christ has any business in an army officer's uniform.*"

We do find, then, the civilian mind in uniform, but it is the contention of this article that military ideals and practices tend irresistibly to discipline the civilian mind into a Prussianized obedience, and hence are a menace to the college, to the man in the R. O. T. C., and to the nation.

A few colleges are compelling their students to take military training under the belief that it is good for the men and the nation. Many more of them are paid very well to maintain the R. O. T. C. unit up to quota and, unfortunately, are influenced more strongly by this monetary consideration. But they are going to be "smoked out into the open" in the next few years. American youth are waking up. As the editor of the Maine University paper said indignantly last May: "We didn't come here to study military tactics."

Once a college has surrendered its independence of thought and action to the military, infringements on inalienable rights of college and student begin.

At the Boston University College of Business Administration the R. O. T. C. is unpopular but compulsory. The writer got permission to put up a poster advertising a "Youth Peace Meeting." But four weeks later, when he asked the same civilian authority for permission to advertise the same kind of peace meeting, he was told to see the commandant of the R. O. T. C. Knowing something of the mind of army officers and the chances of the peace poster in such hands, the writer pressed the embarrassed official for an explanation. Red in the face, he explained: *"The commanding officer secured permission from university officials to decide what notices for students coming from without shall go upon the school bulletin board. Your poster must be passed upon by the major."* Censorship in an American college in peace time! The Bill of Rights and academic freedom surrendered to the military without a struggle!

At the University of Maine the men are compelled to spend time and money on a summer training camp against their will. At City College, New York, a student committee on the revision of the curriculum were patted on the back until they recommended the abolition of the R. O. T. C. Then *they* were "abolished."

It takes no great argument to demonstrate that the military mind is a closed mind; that the college mind must be an open mind; that the ascendency of the military in a college means a gradual subversion of the very soul of that institution. Further evidence on this point will be classified under the remaining two heads.

The R. O. T. C. does *little* to help the student physically, mentally and morally and *much* to harm him, and to rob him of the rights he is entitled to in a free college.

Physically, military training is a "dud." Dr. Sargent, physical director at Harvard for forty years, says:

"Military drill is not an adequate means for physical training, being not only very limited in its activities, but actually harmful in its effect upon boys." The writer carried a weakened heart and broken arches out of the army as personal souvenirs of the "building" qualities of military training.

But the brutalizing effect of military training is worse than the physical strain. The psychology of bayonet drill is to throw response to opposition back upon the physical reflex to crush—to destroy. Brutal thoughts, words and actions are instilled into the man until his first revulsion, which made him sick over the brutality of "work on the dummies," is deformed into hard-boiled satisfaction over giving vent to growls, curses, and savage lunges. If your R. O. T. C. training doesn't carry you through this degradation, then it is supreme proof of my point. *This training is prescribed in the Infantry Drill Regulations* (the Bible of the army). Bayonet training, according to every army's manual, is requisite for turning a civilian into a fully trained soldier. If the military give it the way the soldier in war gets it, then the training condemns itself. If they don't give it in all its rigor, then the very softening of the training condemns the military, its creators, who then place themselves in this dilemma: either (1) their training is not what it is claimed to be, not adequate military preparation (in which case they condemn themselves), or (2) the military do not dare to use on civilian college men the training "soldiering" requires because of the revulsion *real* militarism brings forth; *in either case the system stands condemned.*

At Gloucester, Mass., there has been a military corps in the high school for fifty years. A Y. M. C. A. religious worker who studied conditions in that high school said to the writer last April: "there is no school spirit here, little sportsmanship, and a swaggering hard-boiled manner on the part of many of the boys in their speech and attitude toward girls. This school is by far the worst in spirit of any I have observed." The influence of military ideals on adolescent minds is deplorable. As an ex-soldier I seriously declare that I would as soon see any son of mine live in a slum as in the atmosphere of full military life.

Another evil of the R. O. T. C. is the use of cash to tempt the hard-pressed student to "take another two years." Students at M. I. T. cynically admitted that they were well paid for the little work it costs. And the government doesn't get much loyalty when it buys it. Three of these tech. men said to the writer last May: "We are getting officer's commissions now so we can choose our branch of the service. When the next war comes we'll be back of the lines where the fighting 'ain't.'" Of course, this spirit is not representative, but it shows one of the evil tendencies of the system of *bribing* men to take military training.

Finally, this intrusion of the military into college rides rough shod over the personal convictions of the man. Deffenbaugh had to choose between continuing his R. O. T. C. training and leaving the college he loved. He left. Hitchcock was forced out of Syracuse. A great many men are being forced to take training which they despise in order to remain at the school of their choice or to graduate. It is unworthy of the college and unfair to the man.

Thirdly, the military stamp on college trained leadership is a menace to the nation. Director J. J. Hall says: "I can hardly conceive of a more threatening ill for our country than the introduction of military training into our public schools. It means the regimenting and grooving of minds toward a single standard; the disciplining of personality down to a brutal philosophy of life." This discipline toward "goose step" obedience is a mainstay to keep the masses servile under an autocracy; it is the worst possible training for the members of a democracy where every citizen with the power of a ruler should have initiative, mental freedom, and the courage of his convictions.

Again, the very nature of the military mind is such that its ascendency in a democracy is a menace. "The Reserve Officer," for April, 1924, naively declares that the Reserve Officers Corps directly or indirectly influences the vote and thought of four million citizens already. The editorial goes on to discuss what budgets the corps will dictate, what bold policies it will initiate, when the range of influence has been successfully extended. No wonder Washington feared the sinister influence of the military.

The military mind itself is a menace; like the Bourbon kings, "it never learns and never forgets." Have you ever heard of an admiral or general in any part of the world who felt sufficiently "prepared"? *Because their reliance is on brute force, their fears and supposed "needs" are insatiable.*

The college R. O. T. C. is their best chance to militarize America. It is no less than a bold effort to indoctrinate our leadership with the philosophy of militarism. General Pershing shouts: "I am not a militarist," but his whole thought and program speak louder than any denial.

The college R. O. T. C. is a supreme challenge to the school, to the student, and to the nation. It is a challenge thrown down by the militarists who jammed through "Mobilization Day" against the desire of the Secretary of State and three-fourths of the citizens of this country. What shall be the response of the American college student to this challenge? At Waseda University a year ago the Japanese militarists tried to force their R. O. T. C. upon the student body. But Professor Wark of Boston University, a returned missionary, says *the students rose enmasse in revolt and the officials had to withdraw their plans in confusion.* What is the courage of American college youth on this issue? How far shall we dare to go in opposition to the "un-American R. O. T. C."? *How soon shall we arise together and cast it out from our midst?*

—Thomas Q. Harrison.

THE FIVE GREATEST MEN IN HISTORY

Editor UNITY:

I will accept your invitation to submit my own opinion of the Five Greatest Men in History.

Jesus, the greatest of the great founders of religion.

Aristotle, the prince of those who know.

St. Francis, the greatest Christian of eighteen centuries.

Columbus, whose discovery of America is the world's greatest achievement of any one man.

Franklin, the greatest intellectual influence of the modern world.

ROLAND D. SAWYER.

THE STUDY TABLE

New Books

The definition of no word seems more difficult than that of *religion*. Hundreds, perhaps thousands of attempts have been made. In outlining his field and laying out his method of approach, Dr. Lowie in his "Primitive Religion,"[1] more or less works out a definition. He accepts much of Tylor's views concerning animism, spirits, etc., but adds some features.

> Reverting to the problem that engaged Tylor's attention, we shall say: Religion is verily a universal feature of human culture, not because all societies foster a belief in spirits, but because all recognize in some form or other awe-inspiring, extraordinary manifestations of reality. The present treatise is accordingly dedicated to the discussion of those cultural phenomena of the simpler societies which centre about or are somehow connected with the sense of mystery or weirdness.

To Lowie *supernaturalism* must be present in anything which can be called religion. He states the method of study, which he proposes to pursue, in a few words:

> The only legitimate mode of approach will then correspond to the modern linguists; considering each religion from the point of view of its votaries, let us ascertain what are their concepts of the Supernatural, how they are interrelated and weighted with reference to each other.

The field is too vast to permit the actual examination of each and every religion in a brief manual. Dr. Lowie therefore presents a series of four "synthetic sketches" of individual religions—those of the Crow Indians, the West African Ekoi, the New Guinea Bukaua and the Polynesians. These are selected to show variation in specific working out and practice, though showing many common fundamental features. With this mass of material before him, the author makes a critical examination of the theories of primitive religion that have been offered by anthropological writers and tests them by application to his facts. He thus examines the theories of *animism, magic* and *colletivism,* pointing out the strong and weak points of each. He accepts much from Tylor's views; he holds that magic forms an actual part of primitive religion; and is not to be completely and sharply separated from it; he does not accept the scheme of Durkheim, *collectivism,* but does not wish to be understood "as denying that it represents an estimable intellectual achievement." While rejecting Durkheim's general theory, he finds himself at times in agreement with him. In the third part of his book, Lowie presents a series of discussions of extraordinary interest upon topics suggested by his material and involved in his critique of theories. The topics considered are—historical schemes, regional characterization, history and psychology, woman and religion, individual variation, religion and art, association. Each of these opens up important fields for consideration and future investigation. Perhaps no book in this field, since Tylor's "Primitive Culture," has been of equally stimulative character.

For a third time we call attention to a "timely" reprint. The first was Gobineau's "Inequality of Human Races"; the second was Finot's "Race Prejudice"; now it is Le Bon's "Psychology of Peoples."[2] The reason why we are now having reprints of these old books is because of our present arousal to migration and expansion problems. We Americans begin to take thought to the future. Such books as those of Lothrop Stoddard are not actually a new thing. Gobineau was his early predecessor; Gustave Le Bon preaches the same doctrines, nearer to Stoddard's time. Jean Finot was the defender of the opposite idea, the value and equality of races. There are two sides to all questions—and if admirers of Lothrop Stoddard will reprint old books, so will his opponents. As between Gobineau, Le Bon and Stoddard, give us Le Bon. He is the better thinker, the more interesting writer, the more skilled debater. There is little said in Stoddard's discussion of race realities in Europe, but what is said (at least by implication) and better said by Le Bon. The trouble is, however, that Le Bon gives no way out of the woods. He accepts what is, as inevitable. He feels that civilization is headed to the dogs; which means for him that there is a trend toward socialism. He gives great credit to the British character and takes a sad view of the French. The British are less mixed in blood, have have kept more to themselves, are better unified. If a nation is to maintain its soul, it must keep its blood pure; it must prevent outside entrance—whether forceful invasion or peaceful penetration. Character is the thing that counts; intellectual development is of secondary importance. Our author analyzes the elements that make up character; he holds that institutions count for little. He considers race, an unmixed type, developed by long isolation and inbreeding of stocks practically similar, as the significant factor. To illustrate his claims, he compares North and South America. The two continents are, by nature, much the same; the same constitutional governmental form exists in both. Yet the difference is great. Why? The one has been developed by British, the other by Spanish soul; the one has kept itself clear of taint, the other is mongrel. Notwithstanding his admiration of the achievement of the British soul in North America, Le Bon felt the danger we were running in our acceptance of all sorts and conditions of men; were he writing today he would indeed be pessimistic regarding the future. But, after all, is not his feeling of inevitableness warranted? If we would keep "Nordic," we must continue to do what we did, to live as we did, when Nordic. We must pioneer, we must cultivate soil, we must stay on the farms. If we want only the kind of population that built up our nation, we have about reached our limit. Either we must stop population increase and live by agriculture; or we must industralize. If we industrialize we must admit workers with a different "soul," of a different "character." The choice is simple; having made it, we must abide the consequences.

We have already called attention to several of Professor Vaswani's books.[3] We have received a parcel of his earlier writings, to which we call brief attention. Prof. Vaswani is in the *swaraj* movement; he believes in an independent India, outside the British Empire. He preaches *swadeshi;* he would have India live on her own production, encourage her own industries. He is a *non-co-operation* man; winning freedom through passive resistance. His general attitude may be understood from a single quotation:

> Whose turn next? Any one of us may be clapped into jail any moment. Criticism is damned as sedition. Every word of

[1] *Primitive Religion.* Robert H. Lowie. New York: 1924. Boni and Liveright. 8°. pp. xix. 346.

[2] *The Psychology of Peoples.* Gustave Le Bon. New York: 1924. G. E. Steckert and Co. 16°. pp. xx. 236.

[3] *My Motherland.* 1921. 16°. pp. vii. 168—*Desert Voices.* 16°. pp. viii. 93—*Birthright.* 1922. 16°. pp. xxiii. 89—*In the Sikh Sanctuary.* 1922. 16°. pp. iii. 95—*India in Chains.* 16°. pp. xx. 143. All by T. L. Vaswani Published by Ganesh and Co., Madras.

remonstrance is regarded as sedition. In every national mantra they smell sedition. If you preach non-co-operation you are seditious. If you say you trusted government too long and will not trust it any more—until its heart is changed—you are seditious. If you say you want self-rule, Swaraj, you are seditious. If you claim for India what every Englishman would claim for England, you are seditious. If you stand by Islam in the hour of its anguish, you are seditious. Governments punish violence; I know; but here opinions and patriotism are penalized! "Where does it lead—this repression?" was the question put to me. "To liberty," was my reply.

Prof. Vaswani is a man of broad sympathies. He works toward the unification of all Indians. He urges respect, love and co-operation between Hindu, Sikh, Moslem and Christian. His own creed includes all creeds. Each of his little books is made of essays bearing in one direction—the ideas of *swaraj,* practical methods, stimulation of local affection for Sindh, the achievement of the Sikh.

Among the books by Prof. Vaswani that we have noticed before was "The Torchbearer," which appeared in connection with the Dayanada Centenary. It was but one of many tributes to the founder of the *Arya-Samaj.* We have now received another book, called out by the same occasion and dealing with the same great teacher. "Glimpses of Dayananda," is by Principal Chamupati.[4] Vaswani is not a member of Arya Samaj, though in sympathy with much of its undertakings. Chamupati is a devotee of Dayananda, an active worker in his organization. His love and devotion know no bounds. In his dedicatory page he says:

"At His Feet. Next year it will be a hundred years, my Lord, since you began your *LEELA* on earth. The *LEELA,* you said, was good. It was the *LEELA* of the Lord. All these days I have thought of that *LEELA,* and often found myself lost in it. I wish that I could live that *LEELA."*

The book that he lays at the feet of the founder makes no claim to be a biography; it does not pretend to present Dayananda's doctrine; it does not discuss the aims or purpose of the Arya Samaj. It is a series of twenty-one glimpses of significant moments in the leader's career. Rarely does one meet such an evident outpouring of the heart. The Arya Samaj is the earliest of the recent remarkable quickenings of Hinduism, returns to the old sources of inspiration. It is the most rugged and fundamental of them. It commands respect, has influence, is still vital. I know of no other book that will give a more direct touch with it, than this cluster of impressionist sketches.

FREDERICK STARR.

CORRESPONDENCE

FROM OUR BULGARIAN CORRESPONDENT

Editor of UNITY:

It is accepted all around, that the Locarno agreement or pact is dictating a relaxation in the conditions upheld by the Peace treaties, as applied hitherto. This relaxation concerns specially the relations between France and Germany. Undoubtedly these relations were the mainstay of those in all the countries whose destiny was ruled by these treaties, framed and upheld as if decreed by the Medes and Persians.

Let no one tell me that this change reached between France and Germany, is due to better feelings, more honest appreciation of right and justice. Necessity, dire necessity only, particularly on the part of France, is responsible for it. France has found out her failure. She has failed to conquer the German race, and adopted conciliatory measures. France was anxious to secure herself on the eastern German frontier. In this, her ideal, she has also failed. Germany is free to negotiate with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, her immediate neighbors.

The Allies have obtained less rather than more from Germany than intended by the treaties. The Allies had to keep within bounds; any infringement of those bounds brought trouble rather than benefit. Here we have a power struggling against a country conquered but still an undeniable power in the world, absolutely necessary to the world in political, industrial and economical development. Another illustration! Whatever may be said of the situation in Russia, it is felt all round, that the vastness and power of the Russian people is a real power which cannot be disregarded, and we see all the countries, while dead against the regime ruling there, are endeavoring to form relations with her.

Justice to the weak may be and is too often ignored. It is not so with justice to the powerful. My disbelief in the proclaimed progress toward a generally reasonable settlement of things, on the basis of the Locarno pact, is from the point of view of the conditions ruling in the countries beyond the limits within which Germany has just secured certain rights. I have no doubt that the free hand Germany has obtained to negotiate with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia will meet with certain success, but there can be no faith in the Locarno pact affecting the relations or conditions between Hungary and Bulgaria on the one hand and their neighbors on the other, who have received their power by the Peace treaties, in other words—the countries and populations of the former under the alien rule of the latter. The Little Entente, the petted foster child of France, is bent upon holding and assimilating, by every possible means, what is foreign to its members. The foreign ministers of these countries are continually chasing each other, from one meeting place to another, to maintain and devise plans to preserve the Peace treaties intact, to insure the destructive burdens imposed upon the countries at the expense of which they are exercising their power today.

We have the last serious Greek-Bulgarian incident. The League of Nations and its supporters are making much capital of it. Here was a good opportunity to probe into the reality of the trouble, the real cause of the unsatisfactory conditions between Bulgaria and her neighbors. Such an attempt would affect unfavorably the interests of the *Allies* as intended by the treaties, and The League of Nations limited its instructions to the Commission strictly to an inquiry into the incident proper and how *mechanically* to avoid its repetition. The cause of the incident and trouble of the same nature is patent to all, particularly so to the League of Nations. But the cause itself does not bear examination. The Locarno pact will be of some real benefit if it leads, in the first place, to an honest application of the Peace treaties, to the securing of justice to the millions of minorities, as prescribed by the same treaties. This will remove the bitterness between conquerors and conquered and must bring about better understanding between both parties.

Sofia, Bulgaria. M. MATTHÉEFF.

[4] *Glimpses of Dayananda.* Chamupati. Lahore: 1925. Rajpal. 16°. pp. (i) ii. 158.

COLLEGES AND ENDOWMENT GIFTS

Editor of UNITY:

I do not think much of "Trinity" as a name for a college or university, for I am more Unitarian than Trinitarian, but I think "Trinity" is a better name than "Duke."

I do not prefer sectarian to non-sectarian colleges or universities, but I think it rather a disreputable thing that so many sectarian colleges and universities were willing (yes, and anxious) to renounce all allegiance to the various religious denominations which founded them, for the sake of getting Carnegie pension money.

Here, certainly, was an educational foundation which exercised a most sweeping and radical influence on education in America.

And yet, the Alumni committee, which was appointed to investigate and report on the action of the regents of the University of Wisconsin, in taking a stand against the acceptance of charity from any educational endowment, made in their report, the statement that they had heard no claim that the Carnegie benefaction had influenced the colleges receiving it.

Here was certainly an endowment with "strings attached to it."

The committee, in its lengthy report to the Alumni association, gives many reasons for disapproving of the action of the board of regents.

Wisconsin University needs the money, other universities take

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION UNDER FIRE IN CHINA

Young China to-day is a seething furnace of anti-foreign feeling, and no small part of its hostility is directed against the educational work carried on by missionary agencies, as the following leaflet, widely distributed in Hunan, will show:

We oppose any belief in religion:

Because we look for intellectual progress, but religion is conservative and traditional.

Because religion emphasizes divisions and class distinctions.

Because we advocate science, not religious superstition.

We oppose Christianity in particular:

Because the doctrine of Redemption encourages further wrong-doing.

Because Christianity is the forerunner of imperialistic exploitation, which is proved by its demand for indemnity and extra-territorial rights.

Because Christianity suppresses patriotism, reproaches China as a nation, and destroys the independence of the Chinese people.

We oppose the Christian Church:

Because they make use of prominent men, maintain alliances with officials, and flatter the rich.

Because they attract members with material temptation and vain-glory.

Because Christian leaders prepare the way for imperialistic dominance: sometimes they even smuggle ammunition to sell to bandits.

Because the only results of preaching in China for 400 years are the displacement of idols with God and the cultivation of the worship of foreigners.

We oppose mission schools even more vigorously:

Because the students are not allowed freedom of thought.

Because students are taught that if they do not believe in God the devil will get hold of them.

Because students, whether Christians or not, have to go to church and attend Bible classes.

Because if students do not go to church they are not allowed leave of absence, and not even allowed to eat.

Because the teaching methods, the courses, and the general administration are hopelessly old-fashioned.

Because the schools suppress patriotism.

In a word, because we wish to cultivate the revolutionary spirit in opposition to the exploitation of imperialism, we have to oppose Christianity and the mission schools.

—*Foreign Affairs.*

INTERDENOMINATIONAL CONFERENCE FINDINGS

[Adopted by Student Conference, Evanston, Illinois]

We urge that the church of Jesus Christ should develop according to the following suggestions:

1. That the church be based upon an entire freedom of belief.

2. That the minister may take part in movements in which his church cannot function as a church.

3. That it conceive a major purpose be to educate and to inspire each man to bear his share of the social burden.

4. That it be a distinctly religious organization conserving and recreating spiritual values in man by communion with God.

5. That one united church be substituted for denominational organizations.

6. That the local churches provide different types of service to minister to different religious beliefs and temperaments.

7. That as a beginning toward this unity we urge the young people's societies, immediately, to join forces regardless of denominational lines, preferably under the federal council of churches.

THE CHURCH AND WAR

1. We believe the church through its churches should excommunicate war, dissociate itself from the war system, and refuse henceforth to allow the use of the church as a medium of preparation for, or prosecution of, war.

2. Because we favor a positive education for peace, and because we believe that the present military training program of the war department in high schools and colleges gives war an ultimate sanction, perpetuates the war system, delays disarmament, intimidates students and faculty, and inhibits free discussion, we suggest:

a. Abolition of military training in church and denominational schools.

b. Abolition of military training in high schools.

c. Abolition of military training in colleges and universities, including immediate abolition of its compulsory features in land grant institutions.

3. Every local church should guard and guarantee the right of an individual to follow the guidance of his own conscience when that conscience advises against participation in war.

4. Because war is a negation of the value of human personality we condemn any attempt to impose universal conscription of manhood on the United States.

5. We believe the United States should take a leading share in promoting and participating in any international organization fostering goodwill and co-operation between nations. In particular we urge the immediate ratification of the protocol of the permanent court of international justice of the Hague, participation of the United States in formulating plans for the projected disarmament conference, and entry into the league of nations. We urge the churches to continue their efforts along these lines.

THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION

Since we conceive life to be a creative experiment in aggressive goodwill, we recommend the educational approach to the solution of human problems facing the church.

We recommend that programs be organized in terms of Christian projects to be done instead of meetings to be held.

We recommend the introduction of courses in denominational schools and universities designed to search for a Christian solution of social problems embodying a careful survey of the facts, freedom of expression, consideration of all viewpoints, thorough experimentation, and as far as possible living contacts with immediate community needs.

THE CHURCH AND RACE

We believe that present relationships between races are inconsistent with the mind and teachings of Jesus concerning brotherhood; and since we, as students, now face a real problem on our own campuses in the relations of the students of the various races and creeds, hence:

We suggest that we give ourselves to an unbiased study of the races in an effort to find a solid basis for relationships of equality and mutuality and to gain an appreciation of the distinctive contribution and capacity of each race.

That Cosmopolitan clubs and other associations of similar purpose and scope be given all possible moral and material encouragement by the churches, the young people's societies and the homes in the communities concerned.

That we work to remove discrimination against Negroes in matters of grades and self-expression in classrooms, honorary fraternities, transportation facilities, hotels, restaurants, and places of amusement.

That we especially commend the work of the inter-racial council at the Ohio State university and recommend that such

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all they can get, there are no precedents for the action Wisconsin University has taken; but they do not mention, what is to my mind, a principal justification for refusing money from educational endowments. I would like to see the regents go farther than they did and take a stand against all individual endowment funds.

The multi-millionaires, who make huge gifts to colleges and universities, have not honestly earned their great fortune. They have acquired them through various monopolies. So long as these monopolists are glorified on account of their gifts to education, so long as statues are erected to their honor, so long as their portraits are hung in halls of fame, so long as their biographies are written by men who lay flattery thick with trowels, so long will be made more difficult the establishment of just economic conditions in which the fruits of human labor will be shared honestly and fairly by those who produce these fruits.

CHESTER C. PLATT.

SCHROEDER'S "CONFESSIONS"

Editor of Unity:

This confession of Dr. Schroeder prompts me to say, that this is the clearest, cleanest estimate of the human soul that I have ever read. This idea is big enough to become a sun to a new planetary system of thought and action and I find myself wishing that Dr. Schroeder would edit a correspondence course using such outside material as is extant and formulating a plan of reading and study which might lead us up to rational functioning on all lines. I have often wished that some great Chinese or Indian would undertake to convert America by sending 500,000,000 copies of the "Age of Reason" and keeping a copy in every home. We are so sodden and drunk over our own superior superstitions and institutions that we can never be awakened from within. We lack the imagination to see ourselves as we see India or China, or as they see us and if we are ever to be threatened with intelligence it must come from outside or through some such foreigner. J. H. OSTRANDER

agencies be established on every campus and in every community where there is a mixed population.

That we endorse the Dyer anti-lynching bill, and inform congress to that effect.

We believe that the modern industrial system, as now organized on a competitive basis and production for profit rather than use, is the prolific source of the major evils, such as war, class distinctions, and economic inequality.

We therefore, suggest the following as typical measures by Christian students for betterment of industrial and social relations:

1. Study of local labor problems and conditions in the immediate community.
2. Participation, where possible, in local labor activities or organizations.
3. That the Christian student exemplify in his expenditure of money a simple standard of living and view his income as a social obligation justifiable only insofar as he renders service to society in return.
4. We recommend the endeavor on the part of the churches to share the responsibilities and aspirations of labor and trade unions in all instances where justice and brotherhood are the ends sought, and commend their endorsement of collective bargaining.
5. We further recommend that a conference be held specifically on the Christian student and industry.

Resolved, that the interdenominational student conference go on record as favoring the adoption by our country and the church of a modified program of eugenics.

—*The Christian Century.*

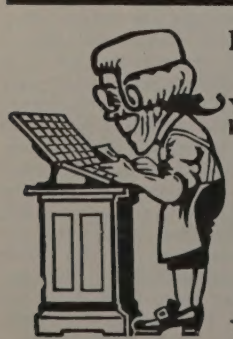
CHILDREN OF REVOLUTION

Story of John Reed Children's Colony on the Volga, which is as well a story of the whole great structure of Russia.

By ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Dr. Scudder, Wellesley, says "Delightful book"; Dr. Thorp, Palo Alto, "I certainly take off my hat to her as a writer"; Ruth Lind, Puyallup, "Mamma told me to tell you that she hasn't time to eat her supper because she has to read that book to us."

This book, 100 pages, printed Dec. 1925 (3000 copies) has gone, Jan. 15, to a second printing. Price, 50 cents. Send to Strong—508 Garfield St.—Seattle.



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